VOX POPVLI

OR

NEWES FROM SPAYNE,

translated according to the Spaniſh coppie.

Which may ſerve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to truſt to Spaniſh pretences.

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OR NEWES FROM SPAYNE

translated according to the Spanish coppie.

HIs Catholique Majestie had given cõmandement that presently upon the return of Seigneur Gondomar his Leiger Embassador from England, (1618) a speciall meting of all the principal States of Spaine (who were of his Counsel) togither with the Presidents of the Counsel of Castile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugall, of the Indies, of the Treasure, of Warre, and especially of the holy Inquisitiõ, should be held at Mouson in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed President, Who should make declaration of his Majesties pleasure, take account of the Embassadors service, and consult touching the state and religion respectively, to giue satisfaction to his holynes Nuntio, who was desired to make one in this assembly concerning certaine overtures of peace and amitie with the English and other Catholike proiects, which might ingender suspition and jealousie betwixt the Pope & his Maiestie, if the mistery were not unfolded and the grond of those counsels discovered aforehand.

This made all men expect the Embassadours returne with a kinde of longing, that they might behold the yssue of this meeting, and see what good for the Catholike cause the Embassadors imployment had effected in England, answerable to the generall opinion conceived of his wisdome, and what further proiect would be set on foote to become matter for publike discourse.

At length he arrived and had present notice given him from his Majestie, that before he came to Court he should give up his account to this assemblie. Which command he gladly received as an earnest of his acceptable service, and gave thanks that for his honour he might publish himself in so judicious a presence.

He came first upon the day appointed to the Counsell chamber (exc. the Secr.) not long after all the Counsell of state and the presidents met, there wanted onely the Duke of Lerma &

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the Popes Nuntio who were the head and feet of all the assemble. These twoo stayed long away for divers respects, The Nuntio that he might expresse the greatnes of his master, & loose the sea of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full to observe him at his approach.

The Duke of Lerma to expresse the authoritie & dignitie of his owne person, and to shew howe a servant put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow servants then the master himselfe. These two stayed til all the rest were weary of wayting, but at length the Nuntio (supposing all the Counsel set) launched forth and came to roade in the Counsel chamber, where (after mutuall discharge of duetie from the company and blessing upon it from him) he sate downe in solemne silence, grieving at his oversight when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for Pompe and Glorie.

The Duke had sent before, & understood of the Nuntios being there, and stayed something the longer that his boldnes might be observed, wherein he had his desire, for the Nuntio having a while patiently driven away the time with severall complements to severall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke of Villa Hermosa (president of the counsel of Arragon) fed his humor by the discharge of his owne discontentment, upon occasion of the Duke of Lerma his absence, and beckned Seigneur Gondomor to him, using this speech in the hearing of the Nuntio after a sporting manner:

How unhappie are the people where you have been, first for their soules, being heretiques; then for their estates, where the name of a favourite is so familiar? how happie is our state, where the keyes of life and death are so easely come by, (poynting at the Nuntio) hanging at every religious girdle, and wher the doore of justice and mercie stand equally open to all men without respect of persons? the Embassador knew this Ironicall stroke, to be intented as a by blow at the Nuntio, but fully at the Duke of Lerma (whose greatnes begā now to wax heavy, towards declension) and therfore he returned this answer: your excellencie knoweth the state is happie where wise favorites governe

wise Kings are, who having favorites whether fooliſh or of the wiſer ſort will not yet be governed by them. The ſtate of England, (howſoever you heare of it in Spayne or Roome) is too happie in the laſt kinde: They need not much care what the favorite be (though for the moſt part he be ſuch as prevents all ſuſpition in that kinde, being rather choſen as a ſcholler to be taught and trayned up, then as a tutor to teach,) of this they are ſure, no Prince exceeds theirs in perſonall abilities; ſo that nothing could be added to him in my wiſh, but this one, that he were our vaſſayle and a Catholique.

With that the noyſe without gave notice of the Duke of Lermas entrance, at whoſe firſt approch the whole houſe aroſe, though ſome later then other, as envie had hung plummets on them to keep them downe, the Nuntio onely ſate unmooved, the Duke cheriſhed the obſervance of the reſt with a familiar kind of carriage too high for courteſie, as one not neglecting their demeanors but expecting it, and after a filiall obeyſance to the Pope his Nuntio, ſate down, as preſident vnder the cloath of ſtate, but ſomewhat lower; then after a ſpace given for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to ſpeake in this manner.

The King my maſter (holding it more honourable to doe then to diſcourſe, to take from you the expectation of Oratorie uſed rather in ſchooles and pulpits then in Councels) hath appointed me preſident in this holy, wiſe, learned, and noble aſſembly; A man naturally of a ſlow ſpeach, and not deſirous to quicken it by art or induſtrie, as holding action onely proper to a ſpaniard as I am by birth, to a ſouldier as I am by profeſſion, to a King as I am by repreſentation; take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cauſe of this meeting and my maſter his further pleaſure.

There hath bene in al times frō the worlds foūdatiō one chiefe commander or Monarch upon the earth. This needs no further proſe thē a bak loking into our own memories & hiſtories of the world, neither now is there any queſtiō (except with infidels & heritiques) of that one chief Cōmander in ſpirituals in the unity

of whose person the members of the visible Church are included, but there is some doubt of the chief cómander in temporalls, who (as the moon to the sun) might govern by night as this by day, & by the sword of iustice compell to come in, or cutt off such as infringe the authoritie of the keyes. This hath been so well understood long since, by the infallible chaire, as that thereby upon declension of the Romane Emperours, and the increase of Romes spirituall splendor (who thought it unnaturall that their sun should be sublunary) our nation was by the Bishop of Rome selected before other peoples to conquer and rule the nations with a rod of Iron, and our Kings to that end adorned with the title of Catholike King, as a name above all names under the sunne (which is) under Gods Vicar generall himself the Catholike Bishop of soules. To instance this point by comparison, looke first upon the grand Seigneur the great Turk who hath a large title but not universall. For besides that he is an infidel, his command is confined within his owne territories, and he styled not Emperour of the world but of the Turks and their vassals onely.

Among Christians the defender of the faith was a glorious stile, whilst the King to whom it was given by his holynes, continued worthy of it. But he stood not in the trueth, neither yet those that succeed him. And beside it was no great thing to be called what every Christiã ought to be, defender of the faith, no more then to be stiled with France, the most Christian King, wherein hé hath the greatest part of his title commõ with most Christians. The Emperour of Russia, Rome, Germany, extend not their limits further then their stiles, which are locall, onely my master the most Catholike King is for dominion of bodies, as the universall Bishop for dominiõ of soules ouer all that part of the world which we call America (exeept where the English intruders usurp) and the greatest part of Europe with some part of Asia and Africa by actual possessiõ, & over al the rest by real & indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth this right to be derived frõ the free and fatherly donation of his holynes, who as the sun to this moone lends luster by reflection to this Kingdõ, to this King, to this King of Kings my master, what therefore he hath, howsoever gottẽ, he may keep and hold. What he can get from

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any other King or Commander by any stratageme of war or pretence of peace he may take, for it is theirs onely by usurpation except they hold of him from whom all civill power is derived, as ecclesiasticall from his holynes. What the ignorant call treasō, if it be on this behalf is truth; and what they call truth, if it be against him is treason: & thus all our peace, our warre, our treatises, mariages and whatsoever intendement els of ours, aimes at this principall end, to get the whole possession of the world, & to reduce all to unitie under one temporall head, that our King may truely be what he is stiled, the catholicke & universal King. As faith is therfore universal & the Church universall, yet so as it is under one head the Pope, whose seate is & must necessarily be at Rome where S. Peter sate: so must all men be subject to our and their Catholique King, whose particular seat is here in Spayne, his universall euery where; this point of State or rather of faith, we see the Romane Catholike religion hath taught every where, and almost made naturall, so that by a key of gold by intelligence, or by way of confession my master is able to unlock the secrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their subjects allegiance, as if they knewe themselves rather my master his subjects in truth, then theirs whom their birthes have taught to miscall Soveraigns. We see this in France and in England especially where at once they learne to obey the Church of Rome as their mother, to acknowledge the catholique King as their father, and to hate their owne King as an heretique and an usurper. So we see religion and the state are coupled together, laugh and weep, flourish & fade, and participate of eithers fortune, as growing upon one stock of policy; I speake this the more boldly in this presence, becaus I speake here before none but native persons, who are partakers both in themselves and issues of these triumphs aboue all those of ancient Rome, & therefore such (as besides their oathes) it concernes to be secret. Neyther need we restrain this freedome of speach from the Nuntio his presence, becaus that besides that he is a Spaniard by birth, he is also a Iesuite by profession, an order raised by the providence of Gods Vicar to accomplish this monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publike agents and privie Counsellers to this end, Wherein the wis-

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dome of this ſtate is to be beheld with admiration, that in temporal warre it employes or at leaſt truſts none but natives, in Caſtile, Portugall or Arragon; ſo in ſpirituals it imployes none but the Ieſuites, and ſo imployes them, that they are generally reputed, how remote ſoever they be from us, how much ſoever obliged to others, ſtill to be ours, and ſtill to be of the Spaniſh faction, though they be Polonians, Engliſh, French, & reſiding in thoſe countries & Courts; the Penitents therfore and all with whom they deale and converſe in their ſpirituall traffique muſt needs be ſo too, and ſo our Catholique King muſt needs have an inviſible kingdome, & an unknowne number of ſubjects in all dominions, who will ſhew themſelves and their faiths by their works of diſobedience whenſoever we ſhal have occaſion to uſe that Ieſuiticall vertue of theirs. This therefore being the principal ends of all our counſels (according to thoſe holy directions of our late pious King Philip 2. to his ſonne now reviving) to advance the Catholike Romane religion, and the Catholike ſpaniſh dominion together, we are met now by his Majeſties command to take account of you (Seigneur Gondomor) who haue been Embaſſadour for England, to ſee what good you haue effected there towards the advancement of this worke, & what further project ſhall be thought fit to be ſet on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occaſion of our meeting.

Then the Embaſſ. (who attended bare headed all the time) with a low obeiſance began thus. This moſt laudable cuſtome of our Kings in bringing all officers to ſuch an account where a review and notice is taken of good or bad ſervices upon the determination of their imployments, reſembles thoſe Romane triumphs appointed for the ſoldiers; and as in them it provoked to courage, ſo in us it ſtirres vp to diligence. Our maſter converſeth by his Agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard then the Engliſh, where matter of ſuch diverſitie is often preſented (through the ſeverall humors of the State, and thoſe of our religion and faction) that no inſtructions can be ſufficient for ſuch negotiations, but much muſt be left in truſt, to the diſcretion, judgment and diligence of the incumbent. I ſpeake not this for my owne glory, I having bee[n] re-

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the behalf of others, that ther may be more scope shewed me to deal in as occasion shall require. Briefly this rule delivered by his excellency was the card and Compas by which I sayled to make profit of al humors, and by all meanes to advance the state of the Romish faith, and the Spanish faction togither, upō all advantage eyther of oathes, or the breach of thē; for this is an old observation but a true, that for our pietie to Rome, his holynes did not onely give, but bleſſe us in the conqueſt of the new world, And thus in our piousperſeverance we hope ſtil to be conquerours of the old. And to this end wheras his excellentie in his excellent diſcourſe, ſeemes to extend our outward forces & private aimes onely againſt heretiques and reſtraine them in true amitie with theſe of the Romiſh religion: This I affirme, that ſince there cā be no ſecurity, but ſuch princes though now Romiſh Catholiques, may turne heretiques hereafter; my aimes haue ever been to make profit of all, & to make my maſter, maſter of al, who is a faithful & conſtant ſonne of his mother Rome. And to this end I behold the endevours of our Kings of happy memorie, hovv they haue achieved kingdomes and conqueſts by this policy, rather thē by opē hoſtility, and that without difference, as wel from their allies and kinsfolks, men of the ſame religion, and profeſſion, ſuch as were thoſe of Naples, France and Navar, though I doe not mēntion Poitugall now united to us, nor Savoy (that hardly ſlipt frō us) as of an adverſe and heretical faith. Neyther is this rule left of, as the preſent kingdome of France, the State of Venice, the Low-countries, Bohemia, (now al labouring for life under our plots) apparantly manifeſt. This way therfore I bent my engins in England, as your honours ſhal particularly heare. Neyther ſhal I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the ſervices I haue there done, becauſe this ſtate hath been acquainted with many of them here to fore by the intercourſe of letters and meſſengers. Thoſe onely I will ſpeak of that are of later edition, done ſince the returne of the Lord Roſſe frō hence, and may ſeeme moſt directly to tēd to thoſe ends formerly propounded by his Excellentie; that is, the advancement of the Spaniſh State and Romiſh Religion togither.

First it is well observed by the wisdome of our State, that the King of England, who otherwise is one of the most accóplisht Princes that ever raign'd, extreamly hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peacemaker, as that for it he wil doe or suffer any thing. And withall they have beheld the generall bountie & munificence of his minde, and the necessity of the state so exhausted, as it is unable to supply his desires, who onely seeks to haue that he might giue to others. Vpon those advantages they have given out their directions and instructions both to me and others, and I haue observed thē so farre as I was able.

And for this purpose, wheras there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us, (howsoever I suppose our State too devout to deale with heretiques in this kinde in good earnest, yet) I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatsoever I desired, whileſt the State of England longed after that mariage, hopeing thereby (though vainely) to settle peace, and fill the Excheaquer.

Here the Arch Bishop of *Toledo*, Inquisitor generall stept up and interrupted Gondamor, saying, that maryage was not to be thought vpō; first for religions sake, lest they should indanger the soule of the younge Lady and the rest of her company, who might become heretícks: secondly for the state, lest by giving so large a portion to heretiques they should inrich and inable them for warres, & impoverish and weaken the Catholiques.

To the first objection the Popes Nuntio answered, that his holynes for the Catholique cause would dispense with the marriage, though it were with a Turke or infidel. 1. That there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gaining of many, perhaps of all. 2. That it was no hazard, since women (especially yong ones) are to obstinate to be removed from their opinions, and abler to worke Solomon to their opinions, then Solomon to work them to his faith. 3. That it was a great advantage to match with such from whom they might break at pleasure, having the catholique cause for a colour, and besides, if need were to be at liberty in all respects since there was no faith to be kept with heretiques. And if his Holynes may dispēce with

with the murther of such, & dispose of their crownes (as what good Catholique doubts but he may?) much more may he, and wil he in their mariages to prevent the leprous seed of heresie, and to settle Catholique blood in the chaire of State.

To the second objection the Ambassadour himselfe answered, saying, that though the English generally loathed the matche, and would as he thought buy it off with halfe of their estates, (hating the nation of Spain, and their religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault a day or two before his departure from London by the Apprentices, who seemed greedy of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischiefe) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed. First the begging and beggarly Courtyers, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly the Romish Catholiques, who hoped hereby at least for a moderation of fynes and lawes, perhaps a tolleraaion, and perhaps a total restauration of their religion in England. In which regard (quoth he) I haue knowne some zealous persons protest, that if al their friendes and halfe their estates could procure the the service of our Lady (if she came to be maried too their Prince) they would freely use the meanes: faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might doe it safely. And if it came to portion, they would underhand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish Collector, and make up halfe the portion out of themselves, perhaps more. So that by this mariage it might be so wrought, that the state should rather be robd and weakened (which is our ayme) then strengthened, as the English vainely hope. Besides in a small tyme they should worke so far into the body of the State, by buying Offices and the like, whether by sea or land, of Iustice civil or ecclesiastical, in Church or State (all being for money exposed to sale) that with the helpe of the Iesuites, they would undermine them with meere wit (without gunpowder) and leave the King but a fewe subjects whose faithes hee might rely upon, whilst they were of a faith adverse to his. For what catholique body that is sound at the hart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head?

With that the *Duke*, *Medina del rio Seeco*, president of the

counsel of warr and one of the counsel of State rose up and sayd his Predecessors had felt the force and wit of the English in 88. And he had cause to doubt the Catholiques themselves that were English and not fully Iesuited, upon any forreigne invasion would rather take part with their owne King (though a heretique) then with his Catholique Majestie a stranger.

The Ambassadour desired him to be of another minde since first for the persons generally their bodies by long disuse of armes were disabled and their mindes effeminated by peace and luxury, far from that they were in 88. when they were dayly flesht in our blood and made hearty by customary conquests. And for the affectiō of those whom they call Recusants (quoth hee) I know the bitternes of their inveterate malice, & haue seē so farr into their natures as I dare say they will be for Spaine against all the world. Yet (quoth hee) I assure your Honours I could not imagine so basely of their King and State as I haue heard them speake. Nay their rage hath so perverted their judgements that what I my self haue seen and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration, even to astonishmēt, they haue slighted, misreported, scorned, and perverted to his disgrace and my reioycing, magnifying in the meane time our defects, for graces.

Here the *Duke Pastrana* president of the Councell for Italy, steps up and sayd, he had lately read a booke of one Camdens called his Annalles, where writing of a treaty of mariage long since betwixt the English *Elizabeth* & the french Duke of *Andion*, he there obserues that the mariage was not seriously intēded on eyther side, but politickly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends.

There (quoth he) the Englisch had the better, and I haue some cause to doubt, since they can dissemble as well as wee, that they haue their aymes underhand, as we haue, and intend the match as little as we doe; And this (quoth he) I beleeue the rather because their King as he is wise to consult and consider, so he is a constant master of his word, and hath written and given strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrary religions, which reasons no other man can answere, and therefore doubtlesse he wil not go from or councell his sonne

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to forsake those rules layd down so deliberately.

Your Excellency mistakes (quoth the Ambassadour) the advantage was thē one the side of the Englisch, because the Frēch sought the match: now it must be on ours, because the English seeck it, who will grant any thing rather thē breake off, and besides haue no patience to temporize and dissemble in this or any other disigne as the French haue long since wel obserued: for their necessities will giue them neither time, nor rest, nor hope els where to be supplyed. As for their King I cannot search into his hart, I must beleeve others that presume to know his minde, heare his words, and read his writings, and these relate vvhat I haue deliuered: But for the rest of the people as the number of those that are truely religious are ever the least and for the most part of least accompt, so is it there, where if an equall opposition be made betwixt their truely religious and ours, the remainder which wilbe the greatest number will stand indifferent and fall to the strōger side where there is most hope of gaine and glorie, for those two are the gods of the magnitude & the multitude, Novv these see apparantly no certain supplyes of their wants but from us.

Yes (quoth the *Duke*) for even now you sayd the general state loathing this match vvould redeme the feare there of with half of their estates. It is therefore but calling a Parliament and the businez were soon effected.

A Parliament (quoth the Ambassadour) nay therein lies one of the principal services I haue done in working such a dislike betwixt the King and the lower house by the endeuor of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure servant to us and the catholike cause while he lived) as the King will never indure Parliament againe, but rather suffer absolute want then receive conditionall relief from his subjects. Besides the matter was so cunningly caried the last Parliament, that as in the powder plot the fact effected should haue been imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zelots of the Calvinian sect) so the proposition which damde up the proceedings of this Parliamēt howsoever they were invēted by Romane Catholiques and by thē intēded to disturbe that session, yet were propounded in favor of the Puritans, as if they had bēe hāmered in their forge.

Which very name and ſhadovv the King hates, it being a ſuffi-cien aſpertiõ to diſgrace any perſon, to ſay he is ſuch, & a ſufficient barre to ſtop any ſuite & utterly to croſſe it to ſay it ſmels of or inclines to that partie. Mareover there are ſo many about him who blovv this cole fearing their owne ſtakes, if a Parliament ſhould inquire into their actions, that they uſe all their ãt and induſtrie to withſtãd ſuch a councell, perſwading the King he may rule by his abſolute prerogative without a Parliament, and thus furniſh himſelf by warying with us, and by other domeſtick projects, without ſubſidies: when, levying of ſubſidies and taskes have been the onely uſe princes have made of ſuch aſſemblies. And wheras ſome free mindes amõgſt thẽ reſembling our Nobilitie who preſerve the priviledge of ſubjects againſt ſoveraign invaſion, call for the courſe of the common lavve, (a lawe proper to their nation) theſe other tyme ſervers cry the lawes down and cry up the prerogative, wherby they prey upon the ſubject by ſuites and exactions, milk the eſtate and keep it poore, procure themſelves much ſuſpition amõgſt the better & more judicious ſort, & hate amõgſt the oppreſſed commons, & yet if there ſhould be a Parliament ſuch a courſe is taken as they ſhal never chooſe their ſheere Knights and Burgeſſes freely, who make the greater half of the body thereof, for theſe being to be elected by moſt voices of Freeholders in the countrey where ſuch elections are to be made, are caried which vvay thẽ great perſons vvho have lands in thoſe countries pleaſe, who by their letters command their tenants, followers and friends to nominate ſuch as adhere to them, and for the moſt part are of our factiõ, and reſpect their owne benefit or grace rather then their countries good, yea the countrey people themſelves will every one ſtand for the great man their Lord or neighbour, or maſter, vvithout regard of his honeſty, wiſdome, or religion. That which they ayme at (as I am aſſured of by faithful intelligence) is to pleaſe their lãdlords & to renue their leaſe, in which regard they will betray their Countrey and religion too, & elect any man that may moſt profite their particular. Therefore it is unlikely there ſhould ever be a Parliament, & impoſſible the Kings debts ſhould be payd, his vvants ſufficiently repaired, and himſelfe left

thought) by any other course but by a mariage with us. For which cause whatsoever project we list to attept, enters safely at that dore, vvhilst their policie lies a sleepe and will not see the danger, I haue made triall of these particulars, and found few exceptions in this generall rule.

There by I and their ovvne wants togither haue kept them from furnishing their Navy, which being the wal of their Iland, & once the strongest in Christendome lies now at roade unarmed & fit for ruine. If ever vve doubted their strength by sea, now vve need not, there are but few ships or men able to looke abroad or to live in a storme, much lesse in a sea fight. This I effected by bearing them in hand the furnishing a Navy bred suspition in my master & so would avert his mind from this match, the hope of vvhich rather then they would loose, they would loose almost their hope of heaven.

Secondly all their voyages to the East Indies I permit rather vvith a colourable resistance then a serious. Because I see them not helpful but hurtfull to the state in generall, carying out gould and silver bringing home spece, silks, feathers, and the like toyes, and insensible wasting the common stock of coyne and bullyon, whilst it fills the Custome house and some private purses. who thereby are inable to keep this discommodity on foot by bribes; especially so many great persons (even Statesmen) being venturers and sharers in the gaine. Besides this wasteth their Mariners, not one of ten returning. Which I am glad to heare, for they are the men vve stand in feare of.

3. As for their West indian voyages, I withstand them in earnst because they begin to inhabit there and to fortifie themselves; and may in tyme there perhaps raise an other England to withstand our new Spaine in America; as this old England opposeth our present State, and cloudes the glorious extent therof in Europe. Besides there they trade for commodities vvithout wast of their treasure, & often returne gould for knives, glasies, or the like trifles, and that without such losse of their Mariners as in other places. Therefore I crost vvhatsoever intendements were projected for Virginea or the Bermudas; because I see they may be hereafter really helpe full unto them,

State, which elſe would overflow its own bancks by continuance of peace, and turne head upon it ſelf or make a body fit for any rebellion.

And ſo farre I prevayled herein, as I cauſed moſt of the Recuſants vvho were ſharers to withdraw their venters & diſcourage the vvork, ſo that beſides private perſons unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publike purſe. And we know by experience ſuch voyages and plantations are not effected without great meanes to ſuſtaine great difficulties, and with an unwearied reſolution and power, to meete al hazards and diſaſters with ſtrong helpes and continuall ſupplies, or elſe the undertaking proues idle.

4. Fourthly. By this meanes likevviſe I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, till it vvas almoſt too late to ſet out. And had a hope that work of ſeacrecy ſhould haue broken forth to action, before theſe could haue arrived to ſuccour them.

5. Fiftly, I put hard for the Cautionary tovvnes (which our late King Philip of happy memory ſo aymed at, accounting thē the keyes of the low Countries) that they might be delivered to his Catholike Majeſtie as the proper owner. And had perhaps preuayled, but that the profeſt enemy to our State and Church, vvho dyed ſhortly after, gave counſell to reſtore them to the rebellious States; as one that knew Pouillar Common wealthes to be better neighbours, ſurer friends, and leſſe daungerous enemyes, thā Monarchies; and ſo by his practiſe reſcued them from my handes, and furniſhed the Exchequer from thence for that tyme. Neyther vvas I much greeved at this; becauſe the Dependancy they had before of the Engliſh ſeemed novv to be cut off, and the intereſt the Engliſh had in thē and their cauſe to be taken avvay; vvhich muſt be fully and finally effected before we can hope eyther to conquer them or England, who holding togither are too ſtrong for the world at ſea, & therefore muſt be diſunited, before they can be overcome. This point of State is acknowledged by our moſt experienced Patroner and ſure friund *Monſieur Barnevelt*, vvhoſe ſucceeding plots to this end, ſhall beare witnes for the depth of his judgement.

6. But

6. But the last service I did for the State, was not the least; when I underwrought that admirable Engine *Raleigh*, and so was the cause his voyage (threatning so much daunger and domage to us) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death, neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all strings hold. But the determination of my commission, vvould not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution, vvhich I desired the rather, that by concession I might haue wrung from the inconsiderate English, an acknowledgement of my masters right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot; And this I did to stop their mouthes hereafter, and because I would quench the heate & valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to looke at our sea, or breathe upon our Coastes. And lastly because I would bring to an ignominious death, that old *Pyrat*, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased English *Virago*, and by her flesht in our blood and ruine. To doe this I had many Agents, first divers Courtiers who were hungrie and gaped wide for Spanish gould; secondly some that bare him at the heart for inveterate quarrels; Thirdly some forreigners who having in vaine sought the *Elixer* hitherto, hope to finde it in his head; Fourthly all me of the Romish faith who are of the Spanish faction, and would haue been my bloodhounds, to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperitie of their Country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their owne nation, in respect of us and our Catholike cause; Lastly I left behinde mee such an instrument composed artificially of a secular understanding and a religious profession as hee is every way adapted to serue himself into the closet of the heart; and to worke upon feminine leuity, who in that county haue masculine spirits to command and pursue their plots unto death. This therefore I account as done, & rejoyce in it, knowing it vvill be very profitable to us, gratefull to our faction there; and for the rest, what though it be crosse to the people, or the Clergy? vve that onely negotiate for our owne gaine, and treate about this mariage for our owne ends, can conclude or breake off when we see our

time, without reſpect of ſuch as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I haue certaine knowledge that the commons generally are ſo effeminate and cowardly, as that they at their muſters (which are ſeldome and ſlight, onely for the benefit of their muſter-maſter) of a thouſand ſouldiers, ſcarce one hundred dare diſcharge a musket, and of that hundred, ſcarce one can uſe it like a ſouldier. And for their armes, they are ſo ill provided, that one corſelet ſerveth many men, when ſuch as ſhew their armes upon one day in one place, lend them to their frēds in other places to ſhew when they haue uſe. And this if it be ſpied, is only puniſhed by a mulct in the purſe, which is the officers aime, who for his advantage winkes at the reſt, and is glad to finde and cheriſh by connivence profitable faults which increaſe his revenue. Thus ſtands the ſtate of that poore miſerable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my maſter ſhould reſolve upon an invaſion, the time never fits as at this preſent, ſecuritie of this mariage and the diſuſe of armes having caſt them into a dead ſleepe, a ſtrong and wakening faction being ever amongſt them ready to aſſiſt us, and they being unprovided of ſhippes and armes, or hearts to fight, an univerſall diſcontentment filling all men. This I haue from their muſter-maſters and Captaines, who are many of them of our religion, or of none, and ſo ours, ready to be bought and ſould, and deſirous to be my maſters ſervants in fee.

Thus much for the ſtate particularly, wherein I haue bent my ſelfe to weaken them and ſtrengthen us, & in all theſe haue advanced the Catholicke cauſe, but eſpecially in procuring favours for all ſuch as favour that ſide, and croſſing the other by all meanes. And this I practiſe my ſelfe & give out to be generally practiſed by others, that whatſoever ſucceſſe I finde, I ſtill boaſt of the victory, which I doe to diſhearten the heretiques, to make them ſuſpitious one of an other, eſpecially of their Prince and their beſt Stateſmen, and to keepe our owne in courage, who by this meanes increaſe, otherwiſe would be in danger to decay.

Now for religion, and for ſuch deſignes as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policie of that late Biſhop of theirs (*Bancroft*) who ſtird up and maintained a dangerous ſchiſme,

ſchiſme, betweene our ſecular Prieſts and Ieſuites, by which he diſcovered much weaknes, to the diſhonour of our clergie, and prejudice of our cauſe. This taught me (as it did *Barnevelt* in the Low countries) to worke ſecretly and inſenſibly betweene their Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts, and to caſt an eye as far as the Orcades; knowing that buſynes might be ſtirred up there, that might hinder proceedings in England, as the French ever uſed Scotland to call home the forces of England, and ſo to prevent their conqueſts. The effect you haue partly ſeene in the Earle of *Argile*, who ſometimes was Captaine for the King and Church againſt the great Marquis *Huntley*, & now fights under our banner at *Bruxels*, leaving the croſſes of S. George & S. Andrewe for the ſtaffe of S. Iames. Neither doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more revolters, at leaſt ſuch a diſunion as wil never admit ſolid reconcilemēt, but will ſend ſome to us, and ſome to Amſterdam. For the King (a wiſe and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdomes, which he ſees cannot be effected, where the leaſt ceremony in religion is continued, divers ſharp and bitter braules from thence ariſing, whilſt ſome ſtriving for honour more then for truth, prefer their owne way & wil, before the general peace of the Church & the edification of ſoules) he I ſay ſeekes to worke both Churches to uniformitie, and to this end made a journey into Scotland, but with no ſuch ſucceſſe as he expected, for divers of ours attended the traine, who ſtirred up humors and factions, and caſt in ſcruples and doubts to hinder & croſſe the proceedings; yea thoſe that ſeeme moſt adverſe to us and adverſe from our opinions, by their diſobedience and example helpe forward our plots, and theſe are incouraged by a factious and heady multitude, by a faint & irreſolute clergie, (many falſe brethrē being amōgſt their Bps.) & by the prodigal Nobilitie who maintaine theſe ſtirs in the Church, that thereby they may ſafely keepe their Church-livings in their hands, which they haue moſt ſacrilegiouſly ſeaſed upon in the time of the firſt deformatiō, & which they feare would be recovered by the Clergy if they could be brought to brotherly peace & agrement; for they haue ſeene the King very bountiful in this kind, hauing lately increaſed their pēſiōs & ſetled the Clergy a cōpetēt

maintenance, & besides out of his owne meanes which in that kingdome is none of the greatest, having brought in and restored whole Bishopriks to the Church, which were before in laymens hands, a great part of the Nobilities estates consisting of spirituall lands, which makes them cherish the puritanicall faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with scraps and crummes and contributions and arbitrary benevolences from their Lords and Lairds and Ladies, and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how if this act of the Kings, wherein hee is most earnest and constant, should so far thrive, as it should effect a perfect union both in the Church & Common wealth? I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blowe to us, if by a generall meeting a generall peace should be concluded, and all their forces bent against Rome; and we see their politick King aimes at this.

True (quoth *Gondamore*) but he takes his marke amisse, howsoever hee understand the people and their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their passions and affections; for (besides that he is hindred there in Scotland underhand by some for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours who are in great place & authoritie amongst them) hee is likewise deluded in this point even by his owne Clergie at home in England, who prerend to be most forward in the cause. For they considering if a generall uniformitie were wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all or most of theirs (as they feare) would flock thither for preferment (as men pressing towards the sunne for light and heate) and so their owne should be unprovided; these therefore (I say) howsoever they beare the King fairly in hand, are underhand against it, and stand stiffe for all ceremonies to be obtruded with a kinde of absolute necessitie upon them, when the other wil not be almost drawne to receive any. When if an abatement were made, doubtlesse they might be drawne to meete in the middest; but there is no hope of this with them, where neither party deales seriously, bnt onely for the present, to satisfie the King: and so there is no feare on our side that affections and opinions so divers, will ever be reconciled and made one. Their Bishop of S.

of *S. Andrewes* ſtands almoſt alone in the cauſe, and puts upon himſelf the labour, the loſſe and the envie of all, with little proficiencie, whilſt the adverſe faction haue as ſure friends and as good intelligence about the King as he hath, and the ſame Poſt perhaps that brings a packet from the King to him, brings another from their Abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counſels, & preparing them aforehand for oppoſition: this I know for truth, and this I reioyce in, as conducing much to the Catholick good.

But (quoth the Nuntio) are there none of the hereticall preachers buſie about this match? Me thinkes their fingers ſhould itch to be writing and their tongues burn to be prating of this buſynes, eſpecially the puritanicall ſort, howſoever the moſt temperate and indifferent cary themſelves.

The truth is my Lord (quoth the *Ambaſſadour*) that privately what they can, and publiquely what they dare, both in England & Scotland all for the moſt part (except ſuch as are of our faith) oppoſe this match to their utmoſt, by prayers, counſels, ſpeeches, wiſhes; but if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we haue ſtill meanes to charme their ſawcineſſe, to ſilence them, and expell them the Court, to diſgrace them and croſſe their preferments, with the imputation pragmaticke Puritaniſme. For inſtance I will relate this particular; A Doctor of theirs and a Chaplaine in ordinary to the King, gaue many reaſons in a letter againſt this mariage, and propounded a way how to ſupply the Kings wants otherwiſe, which I underſtanding, ſo wrought underhand, that the Doctor was committed, and hardly eſcaped the danger of his preſumptuous admonition, though the ſtate knew his intent was honeſt, and his reaſons good. Wherein wee on the other ſide, (both here and with the *Arch Duke*) haue had bookes penned, and pictures printed, directly againſt their King and ſtate, for which their Ambaſſadours haue ſought ſatisfaction of us in vaine, not being able to ſtay the print, or ſo much as to touch the hem of the Authors garment. But wee haue an evaſion, which hereticks miſſe, our Clergie being freed from the temporall ſword, and ſo not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at libertie to give any hereticall Prince the Mate when

they lift whereas theirs are liable to accompt and hazard, & are muzled for barking, when ours may both barke and bite too. The Councell table, and the ſtar-Chamber do ſo terrifie them, as they dare not riot, but run at the ſtirrop in excellent cõmãd, and come in at the leaſt rebuke. They call their preaching in many places ſtanding up, but they crouch and dare not ſtand up nor queſt, behaue thẽſelves like Setters, ſilent and creeping upon their bellies, licke the duſt which our Prieſts ſhake from their beautifull feete.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) ſatisfie me about our owne Clergie how they fare.. For there were here Petitions made to the King in the name of the diſtreſſed, afflicted, perſecuted and impriſoned Prieſts, that his Maieſtie would intercede for them, to free them from the intollerable burdens they groned under, and to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from us to that end, that you ſhould negotiate this demand with all ſpeed and diligence.

Moſt excellent Prince (replyed *Gondamore*) I did your command with a kinde of command my ſelfe; not thinking it fit to make it a ſuite in your name or my Maſters, I obtained them libertie to walke freely up and downe, to face and outface their accuſers, Iudges, Magiſtrates, Biſhops, and to exerciſe their functions almoſt as freely altogether as ſafely as at Rome.

Here the Nuntio objected, that he did not well to his judgement in procuring their libertie, ſince they might doe more good in priſon then abroad. Becauſe in priſon they ſeemed to be under perſecution, and ſo vvere pittied of others; and pittie of the perſon, prepares the affection further. Beſides, then they were careful over their owne lives to give no offence: but abroade they might be ſcandalous in their lives, as they uſe to be in *Rome* and *Spaine*, and other Catholik countreys; and ſo the opinion of their holyneſſe which upholds their credit and cauſe (againſt the maried Clergie) would ſoone decay.

But the Ambaſſador replyed, he conſidered thoſe inconveniences, but beſides a ſuperior command, he ſaw the profit of their libertie more then of their reſtraint. For now they might freely conferre, and were ever practiſing, and would doubtleſſe produce ſome worke of wonder. And beſides by reaſon of their

their authoritie and meanes to change place, did apply themselves to many persons; wheras in prison they onely could deale with such as came to be caught, or were their owne before. And this (quoth he) I adde as a secret, that as before they were maintained by private contributions to devout Catholiques even to excesse, so much more now shall they be able to gather great summes, to weaken the State, and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinall *Woolsey* barrelling up gold for *Rome*. And this they may easily doe, since all Catholiques rob the hereticall Priests and withhold tythes from them by fraud or force, to give to these of their owne to whom it is properly due: And if this be spied, it is an easie matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*, and say, he carries the coyne out of the land (who are forward enough indeed, in such practises) and so ours shall not onely be excused, but a flawe made betwixt them to weaken their amities, & beget suspition betwixt them of each others loue.

But amongst all these priests (quoth the Inquisitor generall) did you remember that old, reverend, father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the Parliament house? such as he deserving so highly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the Catholique cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to incourage others to the like holy undertakings.

Holy father (quoth *Gondamor*) my principall care was of him, whose life and libertie when I had with much difficultie obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person, attended with all my traine, and divers other well willers to fetch him out of the Tower where he was in durance. Assoone as I came in his sight I behaved my self after so lowly & hũble a maner, that our adversaries stood amazed to behold the reverence we giue to our ghostly fathers. And this I did to confound them & their contemptuous Clergie, and to beget an extraordinary opinion of holinesse in the person, & pietie in us, and also to provoke the English Catholiques to the like devout obediencie, and thereby at any time these Iesuites (whose authoritie was somewhat weakened since the schisme betwixt them and the Seculars, and the succeeding powder-plot) may vvorke them

to our

to our ends, as Maſters their ſervants, Tutors their ſchollers, fathers their children, Kings their ſubiects. And that they may doe this the more boldly and ſecurely, I haue ſomewhat daſht the authoritie of their high Comiſſion; upon which whereas there are diverſe Purſevants (men of the worſt kinde and condition, reſembling our Flies & Familiars, attending upon the inquiſition) whoſe office and imployment it is to diſturbe the Catholiques, ſearch their houſes for *Prieſts*, holy veſtments, bookes, beades, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I haue cauſed the execution of their office to be ſlackned, that ſo an open way may be given to our ſpirituall inſtruments for the free exerciſe of their faculties. And yet when theſe *Purſevants* had greateſt authoritie, a ſmall bribe in the Countrey would blinde their eyes, or a little greater at Court or in the Excheaquer fruſtrate and croſſe all their actions, ſo that their malice went off like ſquibs, made a great crack to fright childrē and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholique ſpirits. And this is the effect of all other their courſes of proceeding in this kinde, in all their iudiciall Courts. whither knowne catholiques (convicted as they ſtile them) are often ſummond and cited, threatned and bound over, but the danger is paſt aſſoon as the officer hath his fee payd to him, then the execution goeth no further. Nay upon my conſcience they are glad when there are offenders in that kinde, becauſe they are bountifull: and the officers doe their beſt to favour them, that they may increaſe, and ſo their revenue and gaine come in freely.

And if they ſhould be ſent to priſon, even that place (for the moſt part) is made as a Sanctuary to them: as the old Romanes were wont to ſhut up ſuch by way of reſtreint, as they meant to preſerve from the peoples fury; ſo they live ſafe in priſon till we haue time to worke their libertie and allure their lives. And in the meane time their place of reſtraint is as a ſtudy unto them, where they haue opportunitie to confer together as in a Colledge, and to arme themſelves in unity against the ſingle adverſary abroad.

But (quoth the Inquiſitor generall) how doe they for bookes, when they haue occaſion either to write or diſpute?

My Lord, (replyes *Gondamor*) all the Libraries belonging to the

the Romane Catholiques through the land are at their command, from whence they haue all ſuch collections as they can require gathered to their hand, aſwell from thence as from all the Libraries of both Vniverſities, and even the bookes themſelves if that be requiſite.

Beſides I have made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuſcripts & other ancient and rare Authours out of the hands of the Heretiques, ſo that there is no great Scholler dies in the land, but my Agents are dealing with his bookes. In ſo much as even their learned *Iſaack Cauſabons* library was in election without queſtion to be ours, had not their Vigilant King (who foreſees all dangers, and hath his eye buſie in every place) prevented my plot. For after the death of that great ſcholler, I ſent to requeſt a view & catalogue of his bookes with their price, intending not to be out-vyed by any man, if mony would fetch them; becauſe (beſides the damage that ſide ſhould haue received by their loſſe, proſecuting the ſame ſtory against Cardinall *Baronius*) we might haue made good advantage of his notes, collections, caſtigations, cenſures and criticiſmes for our owne party, and framed and put out others under his name at our pleaſure. But this was foreſeene by their *Prometheus*, who ſent that *Torturer* of ours (the Biſhop of *Vincheſter*) to ſearch and ſort the papers, and to ſeale vp the ſtudy: Giving a large and princely allowance for them to the *relicks* of *Cauſabon*, togither with a bountifull penſion & proviſion for her and hers. But this plot fayling at that time, hath or ever done ſo. Nor had the Vniverſitie of *Oxford* ſo triumphed in their many manuſcripts given by that famous Knight S. *Thomas Bodly*, if eyther I had been then imployed, or this courſe of mine then thought upon; for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to diſarme them, and eyther to tranſlate their beſt authours hither, or at leaſt to leave none in the hands of any but Romane Catholiques who are aſſuredly ours. And to this end an eſpeciall eye would be had upon the Library of one S. *Robert Cotton* (an ingroſſer of Antiquities) that whenſoever it come to be broken up (eyther before his death or after) the moſt choice and ſingular pieces might be gleaned and gathered up, by a Catholique hand. Neyther let

lars is unworthy an Ambaſſadour, or of ſmall avayle for the ends we ayme at, ſince we ſee every mountayne conſiſts of ſeverall ſands; and there is no more profitable converſing for Stateſmen then amõgſt ſchollers & their books, ſpecially where the King for whom we watch is the King of Schollers, and loves to live almoſt altogether in their element. Beſides if by any meanes we can continue differences in their Church, or make them wider, or beget diſtaſte betwixt their Clergy and commõ Lawyer, who are men of greateſt power in the land, the benefit will be ours, the conſequence great, opening a way for us to come in betvveene, for perſonall quarrels produce reall queſtions.

As he was further proſecuting this diſcourſe, one of the Secretaries (who wayted without the chamber) deſired entrance; and being admitted, delivered letters vvhich he had nevvly received from a Poſt directed to the Preſident and the reſt of the Councell from his Catholike maſter, the contents whereof vvere to this effect.

Right truſty & vvelbeloved Couſens and Counſellors, we greete you wel: Wheras vve had a hope by our Agents in England and Germany, to effect that great vvorke of the Weſterne Empire; and likewiſe on the other ſide to ſurprize Venice, and ſo incircling Europe at one inſtãt, & infolding it in our armes, make the eaſier roade upon the Turke in Aſia, and at length reduce all the vvorld to our catholique commaund. And whereas to theſe holy ends vve had ſecret and ſure plots and proiects on foot in all thoſe places, and good intelligence in all Courts;

Know now that vve haue received late and ſad newes of the apprehenſion of our moſt truſty and able Penſioner *Barnevelt*, and of the diſcovery of other our intendements; ſo that our hopes are for the preſent adjourned till ſome other more convenient and auſpicuous time. We therefore will you preſently upon ſight hereof, to breake off our conſultation, and repaire ſtraight to our preſence, there to take further directions and proceed as the neceſſity of time & cauſe ſhould require.

With that his Excellencie and the whole houſe ſtrook with amaze-

brake off this Treaty abruptly, and vvithout tarriance tooke horſe and poſted to Courte.
From vvhence expect newes the next fayre vvinde.

In the meane tyme, Let not thoſe be ſecure, vvhom it concernes to be revvſed up, knowing that this aſpiring Nebuchadnezzar wil not looſe the glorie of his greatnes, (who continueth ſtill to magnifie himſelfe in his great Babel,) until it be ſpoken, thy kingdome is departed from thee.
Dan. 4.